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representatives in the Senate is therefore plain. That course is to say in reservations what both sides agree the treaty means, ratify the instrument, that we may begin the long task of modifying the League of Nations to meet the needs of a war-stricken world.

These reservations will serve a useful purpose, render indeed an indispensable service. They will put in writing America's interpretation of the Treaty, the President's interpretation, the Senate's interpretation, and that beyond cavil. That is very important, for the President and the Senate of today are not the President and the Senate of tomorrow. They will not always be at hand to tell what the document means. The Treaty should be its own excuse for being.

A RIGHT WORD FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WE MAY be pardoned for calling the attention of our readers especially to the article by Mr. Lansing, appearing elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Lansing is so successful in keeping out of the public eye that the quality of his work is not always appreciated. In his address before the American Bar Association we find him interpreting our international situation in terms that are not only germane but fundamental to our international situation. His wholesome analysis of democratic nationalism as the corner-stone of the new order; his emphasis upon the importance of international law rather than a world-state law as the basis of our new international system; his insistence upon peaceable settlement of controversies between nations in accord with the principles of legal justice—these positions taken by the Secretary are sane, reassuring, and needed.

More particularly would we call the attention of our readers to that portion of his address where he specifically calls attention to the plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. It will be noted that the Secretary believes that the usefulness of the League of Nations depends wholly upon the proper constitution of such a Tribunal. It is as a breath of free air to find our Secretary of State calling attention to the Hague Conventions and to the great service which they rendered. The Secretary has his definite opinion of their detractors. The supreme contribution of those conventions lay in their emphasis upon the judicial settlement of international disputes. The hope of the present League of Nations lies in the same direction. As the Secretary says:

"As I see it, there is only one principle for the direction of international intercourse which will under present conditions command the universal approval of nations, and that is the principle of justice, not in the general and abstract

sense, but in the restricted sense of legal justice. * * *

"In a word, international democracy exists in the sphere of legal justice and, up to the present time, in no other relations between nations."

Members of the American Peace Society will appreciate this word from this source, calling attention as it does once more to a vital aspect of the program of the American Peace Society. It is a contribution where a contribution is needed.

AMERICA NO "MARBLE-HEARTED FIEND"

AMERICA and ingratitude are opposite terms, yet soldiers are still returning from France, remembering primarily their discomforts, and speaking in unfriendly terms of our "first and only ally." Agencies aiming to promote relief in that stricken country are finding their work increasingly difficult. American business men are slow in their help where France needs help. Gossip tells us that the French are inactive; that they are folding their hands and waiting for outsiders to put them on their feet again. Criticism of France, more frequent in conversation than in the press, is the pastime of many.

American business enterprises, most of them, have developed enormously since 1914. They are now planning with pardonable keenness to get hold of trade in the far sections of the world, and to increase every advantage already gained. The same thing is true of certain British industrial leaders. We are not here disposed to find fault with this ambition; but candor and justice should cause us to remember that the strides in our business advance—indeed, the very existence of our commercial life—is now due to the fact that for three years the breasts of French boys were bared to the German onslaught. If the manufacturing and commercial portions of our nation are more powerful today than ever before, it is because 1,400,000 French boys died there between us and the thing which threatened. American people will not forget this, nor fail in gratitude.

That zone of devastation hundreds of miles long, formerly supporting one-fifth of the French population, containing one-fifth of their industries and many miles of agricultural lands, lies there still in ruins. Lens, for example, one of the devastated towns which we saw from the ill-fated *Goliath-Farman*, housed before the war 40,000 coal miners. Not one of those houses is left. Furthermore, 98 per cent of the coal pits have been choked by the enemy. That single devastated place is but typical of all northeastern France, which is pertinent, and of the vicarious sacrifice which has made the success of our industries possible. America cannot

ignore France in this her time of need. It will never be said of America as Milton said of "swinish gluttony" that "with besotted base ingratitude," she "crams and blasphemes her feeder."

But the reconstruction in France lags, and through no fault of the French. That reconstruction is a long job, the central principle of which is that France must be aided to produce again. The people of that land cannot do the work alone. The Government, which has already assumed responsibility for the personal losses, is limited in its power. Omitting the dead soldiers, one-fourth of the people are back attempting as best they can to rebuild their homes. The big factories are gradually beginning again, but very slowly. A States-General under the patronage of the *Matin* has been organized in the interest of the devastated regions. Problems of shelter, taxation, leases, and labor are but a small part of the program of the States-General. But the need of France, at this time a literally crying need, is for provisions, and especially for tools and raw materials. There is but one nation in all the world that can supply the French with these things, and that is America. We are not asked to share the debt now weighing upon France, but we are duty bound to share the burden of it. If we are able to go forth in search of world markets, it is because France has been France there between us and Germany. Our supreme duty is to see to it that France shall become increasingly able to obtain markets also; that she may rebuild her cities and villages, to the end that she may continue for the rest of us the glory that is hers.

HERBERT C. HOOVER

MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER, the economic savior and to a considerable extent the political stabilizer of Europe since the armistice was signed, returned to the United States in early September. With a minimum of publicity, he went to California for the first period of rest that he has had since the war began, in 1914. To the peoples of twenty countries between December 1, 1918, and June 30, 1919, he supervised the distribution of 3,219,796 metric tons of goods, mainly food. In addition, special "key" industries in many of these countries were provided with raw materials, so that the peoples could return to work. To him and to his staff also fell the difficult duty of organization of a basis of exchange between countries where ordinary and ancient customs and laws were inoperative. He also fell heir to the care and exchange of expatriated prisoners, by order of the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated nations. Moreover, he worked out ways and means for re-establishing systems of transportation; and last, but not least, he conceived and executed plans of relief for undernour-

ished children which have saved millions of beings. In executing this vast work he found that he must have a better mode of communication with his staff than Europe provided, and with characteristic boldness and independence he created his own telegraph and telephone system throughout middle and eastern Europe, using such state-owned links as existed and creating new ones when necessary. Finest technical training as an engineer, exceptional administrative ability, and utter consecration to his work have enabled him to do this vast work of relief; and there are many Americans who bow lower in reverence before him than they would to any of their fellow nationals to whom the war has brought fame and honor. Such a man with such a record has more work to do for humanity. Just what place of power he will fill in doing it time will tell.

"PITILESS PUBLICITY"

DIFFER as men of character and knowledge of international affairs do about the merit and workability of the Versailles Treaty of Peace, they agree that it will become operative after an unprecedented discussion of its pros and cons by representative assemblies of the peoples affected by its provisions. This debate may have been formal and brief as in the British Parliament, or it may have been thoroughgoing, constructively critical, and prolonged as in the United States Senate; but in any case there has been more distinct recognition than ever before in history that while "governments" may still negotiate compacts that define terms of peace, nevertheless approval of "peoples" must now be sought before the agreements become valid. And this not only because it is in harmony with the theory of democracy carried to its logical conclusion, but also because the cry goes up from increasingly powerful groups of voters in all the new and old democracies of the world for negotiation as well as ratification of treaties by "peoples" rather than by "governments."

Realizing this trend of the times, new precedents have been created in the case of the Versailles Treaty, and nowhere, perhaps, more significantly than in the case of Great Britain—first, by reference of the work of Lloyd-George at Paris to the home Parliament; and secondly, by the discussion of the treaty and its ratification by the parliaments of the Dominions. The correspondence on this latter issue between the Canadian Premier and Lord Milner is of singular importance as indicating impending structural changes in the empire, and also as showing a waning power of Downing Street to do with British imperial affairs as the Foreign Ministry pleases, when it comes to making war and defining terms of peace to which the Dominions are parties as autonomous nations